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ABSTRACT

This paper explores high school leadership by examining how leadership was experienced and understood by students, parents, and staff members in two secondary schools. The general question that guided the research was: How do members within high school communities experience and understand leadership? A collective case study approach was chosen based on the belief that the perceptions of students, staff, and parents were instrumental in learning about leadership in high school communities. The study was conducted in two phases. The first stage consisted of independent investigations of two urban high schools. The study's second stage adopted the collective case-study approach. The major finding of the study was that staff and students at both schools regularly experienced, understood, and could communicate their understanding of constructivist leadership. They perceived the gemeinschaft-like (community-like) qualities of the schools to be crucial in supporting the reciprocal processes leading to the "sense-making" and development of shared purpose. The multiple definitions of leadership were characterized by a confusion between leadership and management, an elusive understanding of the nature of relationships and influence within organizations, and a lack of consensus about the specific qualities that constitute leadership. (Contains 82 references.) (RJM)

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Leadership Within High School Communities: A Multiple Study Perspective

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Introduction to the Study

The purpose of the study reported in this paper was to present an original perspective on high school leadership by investigating how leadership was experienced and understood by students, parents, and staff members in two secondary schools considered to be communities by those within the school and the urban centre served by each school. This study was motivated and influenced by our careers and experiences in public school administration, and was undertaken in the spirit of the successful secondary schools' research (Gaskell, 1995; Lightfoot, 1983; Wilson & Corcoran, 1988). The general research question which guided this study was: How do members within high school communities experience and understand leadership? Specifically, a collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) was chosen with the belief that the perceptions of students, staff, and parents were instrumental to learning about leadership in high school communities. To the extent possible, this paper suggests potential linkages between leadership and effective high schools. Its main purpose, however, is to present findings from our studies of the leadership (Foster, 1998b) and community (Suddards, 1997) phenomena within two high schools with positive reputations.

Context of the Study

The following is an overview of the pertinent literature. A review of the leadership, secondary schools', and community strands within the research was on-going throughout the conduct of this investigation.

State of Leadership Study and the Call for New Perspectives

"Leadership crisis" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978) is a term that has become part of our contemporary language and is indicative of a widespread loss of confidence in leadership in both the public and private sectors. This loss of confidence can be understood within the context of two issues identified in the research literature. The first is the ambiguity caused by the multiple definitions of the phenomenon itself. Factors underpinning this ambiguity include the confusion between leadership and management, an

elusive understanding of the nature of relationships and influence within organizations, and a lack of consensus about the specific variables which constitute leadership. As well, these factors contribute to the tendency in both research and practice to reduce "leadership to good management" (Rost, 1991, p. 180).

The second issue concerns the confusion caused by the proliferation of leadership studies that have given rise to theories and taxonomies which do not endure, but which continue to be researched, to compete, and to inform practice even after they have been proven deficient (Rost, 1991). The ambiguity and confusion surrounding the notion of leadership are further complicated by the current globalization of economies and pervasive societal changes occurring throughout the world. In response to the loss of confidence in leadership, some theorists and critics are calling for new perspectives on the leadership phenomenon (Heifetz, 1994; Immegart, 1988; Rost, 1991; Wheatley, 1992), while others are questioning orthodox assumptions about organization (Capra, 1996; Morgan, 1997; Senge, 1990).

Secondary Schools' Research During the Current Era of Reform

Competing notions of leadership, coupled with shifting societal values and the preoccupation with economy and accountability, are having a significant impact on the evolution of schooling. Sizer (1992) and others (Goodlad, 1997; Merz & Furman, 1997; Wilson & Rossman, 1993; Tyack, 1995) have argued that criticism of the education system is symptomatic of public dissatisfaction with the current state and well-being of society, as well as the widespread belief that education reform is a necessary prerequisite to social reform. In the present as in the past, policy-makers (Alberta Education, 1998; Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1996) and researchers (Hannay & Ross, 1997; Oxley, 1997; Raywid, 1997) have targeted high schools as they formulate reform strategies in response to the pervasive belief that current leadership models within the education system are not effective in supporting the development of young citizens, "capable of proactively

dealing with change throughout life, in a context of dynamic, multicultural global transformation" (Fullan, 1993, p. 4).

Some researchers have responded to the concern by investigating the "health and not the pathology of secondary education" (Gaskell, 1995, p. 14). Although there is a growing body of successful secondary schools' research (e.g., Gaskell, 1995; Lee, Bryk, & Smith, 1993; Lightfoot, 1983; Wilson & Corcoran, 1988), leadership, and the issues surrounding secondary school leadership, have not yet been fully or directly addressed. After their study of 571 successful secondary schools in the United States, for example, Wilson and Corcoran concluded that "more needs to be known about what type of leadership can create the conditions described by the successful schools' literature and under what circumstances" (p. 13).

Schools as Communities; Schools in Communities

Recently, several educational researchers and theorists have argued that it is more appropriate to conceive of schools as "communities," rather than "organizations" when considering models of school leadership with the potential of promoting school improvement (Barth, 1988; Hannay & Ross, 1997; Lambert *et al.*, 1995; Oxley, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1996; Siskin, 1997; Starratt, 1996). Both the notion of schools acting in concert with their communities, and schools being communities within themselves have gained prominence in scholarly writing about educational reform (Furman, March 1997). Both notions, however, are confounded by a lack of clarity and consensus around the meaning of community in an educational context, or in the wider context of society as a whole. Further, the two notions, although different, are interrelated.

Fowler (1995) and others (McKnight, 1994; Starratt, 1996), for example, link community to participation in decision making. Participatory community emphasizes "the importance of people deciding, face to face, conversing with, and respecting each other in a setting which is as equal as possible" (Fowler, p. 89). This is the observation of community or association made by Toqueville in *Democracy in America*, which McKnight

summarizes as "little groups of men and women who came together and took three powers: the power to decide there was a problem, the power to decide how to solve the problem—that is the expert's power—and then the power to solve the problem" (p. 3).

Some conceptualizations of schools as communities rely on Tonnies (1887/1957) theory of gemeinschaft (community) and gesellschaft (society) in which assumptions are made about social relations, norms and values, and systems of human endeavour following urban/rural, or rational will/natural will lines (Sergiovanni, 1994; Furman & Merz, 1996). These conceptualizations cast community alongside "formal organization" as a means to clarify the intent of the phrase, "school as community." As Loomis and McKinney, in their introduction to the 1957 translation of Tonnies' *Community and Society* (1887/1957), note, gemeinschaft and gesellschaft are not realities but "ideal types." When thought of as the extreme points on a continuum, these two conceptualizations of community become useful then, in describing "both change and the difference between groups at any one time" (p. 7). Furman and Merz (1996), using the notion of gemeinschaft, argue that schools are communities when they develop strong organizational cultures with a common sense of purpose. Furman (March, 1997) and others (Dale, 1989; Manzer, 1994) claim that the new "technological liberalism" (Manzer, p. 266) with its hegemony of effectiveness and efficiency has reduced the civic and social purposes of schooling. Furman claims that the "Gesellschaft mindset in society--a mindset of technology and production--and its unquestioned application to schools" has altered their sense of purpose as public institutions (p. 6).

Beck (March, 1997) analyzed liberal and communitarian models of community, their assumptions about human behavior, and conceptions of "good" community. She contends that the popularity of the "language of community" is at the expense of clarity of meaning, and cites Kirkpatrick's 1986 contention that "we often become confused by its use, or, more likely, so inured to hearing it used in a multitude of ways that it eventually collapses into a meaningless term evoked more for rhetorical or emotional reasons than for

illumination or explanation" (p. 24). She concludes that "a vital and healthy community is one that combines liberalism's concern with the individual with a communitarian commitment to the creation of social systems built upon mutual acceptance, care, and respect," and that "schools that function *as* and *in* [emphasis in original] communities must embrace this way of thinking" (p. 29).

The multiple definitions of community within the literature, coupled with the recent proliferation of studies, have caused theorists and researchers to call for new perspectives and studies that might lead to a clearer and more robust definition of the phenomenon.

Leadership in School Communities

Barth (1988) was the first to link the notions of community and leadership in the education literature. The "community of leaders" language and thinking which he introduced has had a significant impact on models of school leadership most recently favored by policy-makers intent on education reform. Underpinning the widespread implementation of site-based management, school councils, and shared decision-making, for example, is the belief that collaborative leadership modes which involve parents, students, and staff members have the potential of promoting individual and collective growth and development while enhancing possibilities for school improvement (Barth, 1990; Blase & Blase, 1997; Glickman, 1993; Lambert et al., 1998; 1995; Leithwood & Steinbach, 1995; Schlechty, 1990). The effects of these recent initiatives born of reform upon student achievement and school performance are as yet unclear; more research is needed to determine the precise nature of such linkages.

With the aim of providing an original perspective on leadership, Lambert and her colleagues have linked the "community of leaders" thinking with constructivist assumptions and beliefs about learning: "Leadership is the reciprocal processes that enable participants in an educational community to construct meanings that lead toward a common purpose about schooling" (1995, p. 29). Their conception differs from conventional views in a number of ways: it suggests that leadership transcends "individuals, roles, and behaviors," and

therefore any and all school members can engage in leadership; it links leadership to constructivist learning and the "processes of meaning and knowledge construction, participation, and reflection;" and it insists on a context of communal relationships in the development of a "common ground about teaching and learning" within schools (p. 29).

Although much has been written on leadership and "community," the relationship between leadership and effectiveness in secondary schools considered to be communities is unclear, indicating a need for further investigation. The study reported in this paper was conceived and designed within this context.

Theoretical Framework

We conducted this investigation within the constructivist-interpretive paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This paradigm

> assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and subject create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures.... Terms such as *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* replace the usual positivist criteria of *internal* and *external validity*, *reliability*, and *objectivity*. (p. 27)

We believed that an understanding of the inter-relationship of our perceived realities would support a construction of leadership within secondary school communities which was "more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions (including of course, the etic construction of the investigator)" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111).

Lambert and her colleagues' definition of constructivist leadership (1995, p. 29) provided the conceptual framework which guided data collection and data analyses.

Methods

This study was conducted in two stages. During the initial stage, we conducted independent investigations of two urban high schools considered to be communities by those served by the school. One study was undertaken as part of the author's Master of Arts program (Suddards, 1997), and the other was one of two case studies comprising the other author's doctoral dissertation (Foster, 1998b). As the aim for each of us was to understand the experiences and perspectives of school members and those served by the

school, semi-structured interviews comprised the largest data source in each case. Other data sources included notes based on field observations, and relevant school and school district documents gathered by each author. Findings and conclusions in each of the studies were based on the categories and themes constructed from the data analyses and were particular to the experiences of those living within each of the high schools. Throughout the data analysis and writing stages of the two independent investigations, we maintained an on-going conversation where patterns of meaning, interpretations, and assertions were presented and debated. This conversation was of the nature described by Stake (1995) as "investigator triangulation," where alternative interpretations are discussed with other researchers (p. 113).

During the second stage of the study, we adopted a collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) with the belief that the inter-relationship of our perceptions might support a construction of the leadership phenomenon within schools that have a positive reputation among school members and those served by the school. Instrumental case study, claimed Stake, is research "on a case to gain understanding of something else" (p. 3-4). In undertaking this collective case study, the aim was in keeping with what Stake claimed was the final aim of all case study research:

> Case study research shares the burden of clarifying descriptions and sophisticating interpretations. Following a constructivist view of knowledge does not require the researcher to avoid delivering generalizations. But a constructivist view encourages providing readers with good raw material for their own generalizing. The emphasis is on description of things that readers ordinarily pay attention to, particularly places, events, and people, not only commonplace description but "thick description," the interpretations of the people most knowledgeable about the case. (p. 102)

The two independent investigations comprising the initial stage of this investigation are outlined in the section that follows. In the section following that, under the heading "Second Stage of the Study," we describe the method adopted during the conduct of the collective case study.

First Stage of the Study

Both school sites were selected for their positive reputation among educators and the urban communities served by each school. One, a Western Canadian high school called "Ravineview" in this study, had attracted widespread attention during its transformation from a single track vocational to a comprehensive high school. The other, called "Evergreen Community High School" in this study, was located in a large Eastern Canadian city and was well known for its humanities and fine arts programs; it had also been recognized nationally as an "exemplary" community high school (Gaskell, 1995). The purpose, conceptual framework, method, standards of rigor, and findings of each of these case studies are presented below.

Ravineview

Purpose of the Study. The overall purpose of Suddards' study (1997) was to examine how one school's success in achieving high levels of parent and community involvement could be understood within a theoretical framework that included both gemeinschaft (community) and gesellschaft (society) concepts. The general research question, was: How do the structure, processes, and culture of the school affect the extent and quality of stakeholder involvement? For the researcher, the significance lay in the effort to understand how competing interests and ideologies could come together in the arena of the local school to achieve common purposes. Data collection was guided by the following specific questions:

1. Who is involved in the school and in what ways?
2. What is the ideological basis for involvement?
3. What alliances and relationships are forged?
4. How does the organization and administration of the school (rules, accountability structures, roles and relationships, control mechanisms, communication) affect those who are involved?
5. Where does leadership reside and how is it exercised?

In addition, the following propositions were stated, predicting what the case might reveal:

- That the case can be described in terms of two competing images or metaphors of schooling
- That organizational and administrative features influence both how and how well community involvement is achieved
- That some of the features will be positively associated with high levels of involvement and some will be perceived as barriers
- That there is a tension between and among these features that is central in the work of a school

Conceptual Framework. The conceptual framework which guided the data collection and analysis of Suddards' study was primarily Tonnies' (1887/1957) gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, and models of the "school as community" and as "formal organization" (Bryk, Lee, & Smith, 1990; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Driscoll, 1995; 1997; Sergiovanni, 1994). Dale's (1989) analysis of ideological views of the purposes of schooling, Deal and Peterson's (1994) description of the leadership paradox resulting from two competing images of schools as organizations, and Jacobs' (1992) theory of moral behavior in the workplace based on guardian and commercial means of livelihood supported and enhanced the development of two ideals. The purpose was to suggest a synthesized and more robust view of the ideal types than was currently available in any one analysis.

Method. The case study design followed Yin's (1994) explanatory case study method in which the researcher seeks competing theories to explain or account for actual events occurring in a natural setting. The case was initially identified based on the researcher's knowledge of schools in accessible urban centres. Initial discussions with the principal confirmed that the school was in fact a case of the phenomenon to be studied, and sufficient specific examples of involvement were confirmed.

At the time of the study, Ravineview School was one of thirteen high schools in a large urban school district in Western Canada. The school district's organization was characterized by site-based management and open school boundaries, two innovations that

had been implemented twenty years earlier. Over time, these two innovations had resulted in extensive exercise of choice by parents and students. Provincially, there was a growing interest in science and mathematics standards, fueled by reports that the province's students were not competing internationally, and a growing interest in magnet schools. From 1968, until the fall of 1992, Ravineview had been a single-track vocational school serving the entire city; from September 1992 on, it was to be a comprehensive high school. Between then and the spring of 1996 when the study took place, major government reforms had been introduced and included an increased focus on province wide testing, changes to the funding structure in the province, the introduction of a three-year business plan, the introduction of mandatory school councils, and increased competition for students through the introduction of charter schools within the public system.

Data collection followed three phases. The first phase, conducted in February of 1996, was the analysis of school records, personal records of the principal, and other archival material from the year 1991-92 during which the school was preparing for its re-opening. Documents were reviewed, flagged, documented on computer, reviewed again, and themes were constructed. A second review was undertaken to fill gaps and verify emerging themes. Factual questions which required clarification were set aside and built into subsequent phases of data collection. Second and third phases occurred in April and May of 1996, and consisted of observations, interviews, member checks, and further analysis of records as required. The first purposive sample selected for interviews in April were eight staff, all classified as "teaching," and were identified with the help of the principal. Immediately following the interviews, handwritten notes were transcribed onto computer files and later analyzed for common themes. The second purposive sample consisted of three staff, two students, seven parents, and one community volunteer. All were selected from a list provided by the principal. The same process was used following interviews to arrive at themes. Observations were either handwritten or recorded as anecdotes on a hand-held audio-tape and incorporated into the analysis of interview data. Although analysis and

interpretation became increasingly intertwined as data collection proceeded, data from each phase of collection were analyzed, thematized, and recorded separately. Final analysis involved triangulation at the aggregate level to identify findings.

Standards of Rigor. The issues of internal validity, external validity, and reliability were addressed through the design of the study and in the data collection and analysis processes (Eisner, 1991; Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1994). Trustworthiness was addressed using questions suggested by Merriam: Do the findings match reality? Could the findings be replicated? Are the findings generalisable? Multiple data sources and data collection techniques; a "reality check" with three members of the school staff; ongoing conversation with Rosemary Foster, the other researcher involved in this study; collection of data over several months; and stability of the phenomenon from one time frame to the next add to the credibility of the data. The process of successive deduction, in which ideas are first labelled, sorted into bigger ideas, and then tested against the data, results in "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1991); the careful preparation of a case study protocol and maintenance of a case study data base increase the potential for replicability (Yin, 1994). The test of generalisability will be the extent to which current and future case studies result in similar analytical constructs that can then be embedded in theory (Yin, 1994).

Findings. The major finding of the study was that high levels of involvement were achieved within the context of school-based management, but grew largely out of a gemeinschaft conceptualization of the school as a community. All respondents could articulate their experience of a school ethos that was gemeinschaft in nature. It was within this ethos that community involvement was understood, promoted, and explained.

Recurrent gemeinschaft themes. Throughout the study, the recurrent gemeinschaft-like themes that emerged included: the importance of shared vision and values in the process of establishing community; trusting, respectful, caring relationships among staff, parents, and students; multiple, diffuse and sometimes conflicting goals; social and

civic purpose; mutual obligations and emotional ties; and implicit control through norms and values, moral authority and virtuous practice (Deal and Peterson, 1994; Manzer, 1994; Noddings, 1992; Sergiovanni, 1994)

Gesellschaft undertones. There were also gesellschaft undertones at Ravineview, but references to these were scattered. In the accounts of the respondents, no clear picture emerged as to the relationship between the gemeinschaft and the gesellschaft, or the significance of the gesellschaft to the overall ethos of the school. Consistent with Dale's (1989) view of the stifling effect of some reforms on innovation, some of the staff participants suggested that the focus on province-wide exams and increased academic rigor put constraints on time which interfered with the ability to strengthen student and community involvement. There was a clearly articulated formal organizational structure with clear lines of authority emanating outward from the principal. Although all respondents made reference to the presence of the principal's authority, it was so seldom spoken of that it was almost transparent. Staff respondents indicated that clarity about their responsibilities (as written for each administrator) underlay the feeling that the principal "trusted them to do their job," and in so doing "empowered them to act." For parents, the need for knowledge, skills and information (Lawler, 1986; Morhman, Wohlstetter and Associates, 1994) were primary and in the absence of these, they felt unable or unwilling to act. Although not mentioned by the student respondents, a zero-tolerance position on aspects of student conduct, enforced by the principal and other administrators in the school, was a gesellschaft quality (Sergiovanni, 1994; Deal and Peterson, 1994).

Communitarian themes were expressed most strongly by staff, with students and parents expressing more ambiguity and uncertainty about their relationship to the staff and principal. In the conclusion to the study, it is suggested that this finding may relate to the principal-based model of site-based management adopted by the school district (Ogawa & White, 1994), and the governance model for school councils adopted by the province. There was sufficient evidence to suggest, however, that aspects of both gemeinschaft and

the gesellschaft were evident in parents' understandings of who they were and what they were doing when they participated in the school council or as volunteers in the school. The principal believed that the work with the school council was just beginning and some members referred to the importance of time in coming to understand the school's operations and to becoming meaningfully involved.

Tensions between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. In addition to the initial proposition that the case could be described in terms of these two competing images of schooling—the communitarian or gemeinschaft and the formal organizational or gesellschaft—the researcher proposed that there would be evidence of a tension between them. The major tension found in the data was over control of the school's agenda. Some staff respondents reported that they found themselves increasingly under the influence of tight state control and, as predicted by Dale (1989), the effect was perceived to be stifling. According to the principal, the prevalent belief among staff that "old ways of doing things would give the results," coupled with their inability to make a connection between certain activities and examination results, were impediments to achieving Ravineview's vision. Of the eight staff who were asked why community involvement was so important at Ravineview, seven expressed an instrumental view of community involvement. For example, staff perceived that they needed parents and community members to provide programs that were desirable in the school; that it was good public relations for the school; and that students would be better prepared for work if they had out-of-school experiences.

Only one staff respondent articulated a gemeinschaft perspective, that "schools belong to the parents and ...parents have a right to be involved and to shape the choices that are available to them," a view shared by the parents and the two student respondents. Parents were involved primarily to ensure that their own children were well-served by the school; at the same time they recognized their obligation to base their decisions on what was best for all students in the school. Two parents provided specific examples of this tension between the interests of their individual child and that of the whole school. The two students

expressed the belief that the school's programs were there to serve them—not their teachers. This tension echoes Morhman and Wohlstetter's (1994) description of the dilemma of school-based management: "the underlying tensions of mission and governance will always be with us, and their active resolution is essential. The question is how best to deliver services that accomplish the societal mission, meet the needs of the com-munity, and are efficient and effective" (p. 12). Beck (March, 1997) echoes a similar need for a combination of "liberalism's concern with the [and] with a communitarian commitment to the creation of social system" (p. 29).

Evergreen Community High School

Purpose of the Study. The overall purpose of Foster's doctoral study (1998b) was to investigate leadership in secondary schools that have a reputation for success among school members and community members served by the school. The general research question which guided this study was: How do the students, parents, and staff within two secondary schools with a reputation for success experience and understand leadership? The specific research questions were:

1. How do the students, parents, and staff members within selected secondary schools with a reputation for success perceive the formal organization of the school?
2. How do the students, parents, and staff members within these selected secondary schools perceive the school culture?
3. How do the students, parents, and staff members perceive and experience "routine" (i.e., day-to-day) activities within the school?
4. How do the students, parents, and staff members perceive and experience "non-routine" occurrences (i.e., issues and innovations) within the school?

Conceptual Framework. The search of the literature conducted prior to undertaking this study, revealed that there are multiple definitions of leadership presently in use in the popular media, in the research literature, and in practice. In the absence of a consensual

definition of the term, the researcher considered several conceptions of the phenomenon that acknowledged the issue of ambiguity and addressed the current call for new perspectives. Heifetz's (1994) definition of leadership and Sergiovanni's (1996) definition of "schools as communities" together provided the theoretical frame for the development of the research questions that guided this inquiry during the initial stages of research design, the pilot study, and data collection. The data analysis and writing of the case study reports, however, were guided by Lambert and her colleagues' (1995) definition which incorporates the notions of leadership and community within a constructivist framework: "Leadership is the reciprocal processes that enable participants in an educational community to construct meanings that lead toward a common purpose about schooling" (p. 29).

Method. In order to address the research questions, a collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) was adopted. The sites chosen for this investigation were two of twenty-one high schools selected from across Canada for inclusion in the 1995 Canadian Education Association's *Exemplary Secondary Schools Project* (Gaskell, 1995). One of the sites was located in a rural Western Canadian town; the other in a major urban centre in Eastern Canada. The urban secondary school site, called Evergreen Community High School in the initial study, was selected for the second stage of the investigation reported in this paper. The method and findings from the Evergreen Community High School case study are focused on in the following.

Evergreen Community High School was an alternative secondary school housing 120 students in a large urban center in Ontario, Canada. Seven full-time teaching staff delivered the core and complementary courses to students enrolled in grades 10 through Ontario Academic Course level (i.e., OAC). In Ontario, the OAC level is attempted by students after the completion of grade 12. The OAC level comprises five courses in the humanities and/or sciences designed to meet the requirement for university entrance. Evergreen Community High School followed the semester system; all courses were scheduled over one half the year. Evergreen, as an alternative secondary school within the large urban

school system, had a mandate to offer an "innovative program." The curricular focus at Evergreen was on the humanities and visual arts, although courses in the sciences and mathematics were also available to students. Every semester, students were required to register in a compulsory community service course called "Outreach."

Data were gathered from multiple sources over a five month period from September 1996 through January 1997 and included regular observations of classrooms, hallways, and extra-curricular activities, as well as staff, parent, and student meetings. Handwritten field notes were made directly following the observations and were supplemented by audio-cassette recordings which became part of an audit trail (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Relevant school documents were also collected over the five month period.

As the aim of the study was to understand the experience of leadership from the perspectives of the staff, administrators, students, and parents, the semi-structured interviews comprised the largest data source. A total of 22 participants were interviewed on two separate occasions. Included were the "off-site" district principal, two parents, all seven teachers on staff, and nine students. Seven of the students were currently registered in the school while the other two had graduated and gone on to post-secondary study. The adult respondents were selected based on their availability and willingness to become involved. The seven students were selected based on observations of each in the classroom and extra-curricular settings, on their willingness to become involved, and parental consent. In selecting participants, the goal was to include a broad range of perspectives.

The data from the typewritten interview transcriptions, observational field notes, and school documents were analyzed both during and after the completion of data collection. Textual content analysis was conducted drawing on conventional hermeneutical techniques (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Standards of Rigor. Several strategies were used in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings. Credibility, for example, was enhanced by using multiple data sources and data collection techniques, by incorporating a diversity of perspectives

from each school site, and by collecting data over several months. As well, member checks were conducted throughout the data collection, data analysis, and writing of the case study reports (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Over the length of the study, an on-going audit trail was maintained with the intent of enhancing dependability and confirmability of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). In order to build the data base that would make transferability judgments possible (Stake, 1995), the reader's vicarious experience was provided for through the inclusion of extensive descriptions and key respondents' accounts in each of the two case studies, and by embedding multiple references to the research literature within the interpretations and assertions about leadership.

The extensive member checks, interactive presentations made to researchers and practitioners (Foster, April 1996; January 1997; March 1997; November 1997; April 1998), and the maintenance of an on-going conversation with Carol Suddards, the other author of this paper, were further attempts to enhance the authenticity of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Findings. The major finding of the study was that staff and students at Evergreen Community High School regularly experienced, understood, and could communicate their understanding of constructivist leadership as defined by Lambert and her colleagues (1995). Respondents at Evergreen perceived the respectful relationships between and among school members to be the single most important factor contributing to their leadership experiences. Parents, however, did not experience leadership in the same way as staff and students and tended to adopt their children's views without firsthand experience of the phenomenon. Through the conduct of the study, recurrent themes emerged. These themes include the importance the 22 respondents ascribed to: (a) moving from a school vision to a shared school philosophy; (b) teacher leadership both inside and outside of the classroom; and (c) the role of the "small school size" in promoting a respectful and trusting school climate. As well, all respondents referred to tensions underlying the context and processes of leadership within the school.

Moving from a vision to a shared philosophy. The three long time staff members from Evergreen Community High School spoke about the evolution from what they perceived to be an "original vision" to a "shared school philosophy." These individuals perceived that this evolution coincided with the development of a school culture characterized by respectful relationships, trust, the centrality of learning, and the on-going discussions and conversations focused on making sense of events and experiences occurring throughout the school and the larger community. The special "feeling" within Evergreen that was perceptible by even the newest of school members had, in the opinion of the long time staff members, occurred over "time." Time, it was believed, was a critical factor in the shift from institutional to shared authority which was described by all respondents in terms reminiscent of Tonnies' (1887/1957) gemeinschaft, and Sergiovanni's (1994) "community of mind."

Importance of teacher leadership. All 22 respondents believed that Evergreen's reputation for success was due largely to the efforts and expertise of the teachers. All credited the teachers for establishing the respectful and trusting school environment in which the nine students claimed to experience a sense of freedom and support for their individual and collective learning endeavors. Evergreen had neither guidance counselors nor department heads. At Evergreen, students and parents perceived that the teachers fulfilled functions implicit in these roles and others; these respondents used terms like "counselor," "mentor," and "guide" to describe the teachers. Over the five months of data collection, the teachers were consistently observed to be the chief facilitators in the "sense-making processes" occurring continuously at Evergreen; the seven teachers were "constructivist leaders" as defined by Lambert and her colleagues (1996, p. xvii). Significant here is that the respondents did not typically refer to the work or efforts of teachers as "leadership." In spite of the critical role respondents believed teachers played in each school site, teachers seldom referred to their actions as leadership or themselves as "leaders." Ironically, teachers, parents and students often called on the principal at district

office before finalizing decisions or initiating problem-solving, yet were critical of this absent school member's lack of awareness of school issues. This finding suggests that assumptions underlying what are commonly considered the roles of "teacher" and "principal" must be challenged and re-defined if goals of current school reforms are to be achieved (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Lambert et al., 1996; Lieberman, 1992)

School size. All 22 respondents at Evergreen believed that the small size of the school was a critical factor in supporting the development of the respectful relationships, and created a context for the positive learning environment in each school. The issue of high school size, Lee and Smith (1997) contended, has "received much attention in theoretical and popular writings about education, as well as in reports spelling out ideas for reforming schools" (p. 217). The prevalent belief that "smaller is better" has prompted several research projects in recent years intent on establishing linkages between school size and improved student learning. Findings from Lee and Smith's extensive study of the impact of high school size upon student learning suggested that moderate-sized high schools of between 600 and 900 were ideal when considering optimal student achievement in core subjects including language arts and mathematics. Constraining unit size, they argued, "may help to promote the human dimensions of schooling" (p. 208). In a similar vein, Raywid (1998) in her synthesis of recent research conducted on small schools contended that "small schools lead to improved student achievement and enable educators to realize many of the other goals of school reform" (p. 34).

The findings from the case study of Evergreen Community High School are consistent with the above; they suggest that the small school size provided a favorable context for the development of communal relationships and the reciprocal learning processes to which Lambert and her colleagues (1995) refer as constructivist leadership.

Tensions underlying the context and processes of leadership. Even though evidence of constructivist leadership as described by Lambert and her colleagues (1995) was observable and understandable to participants at Evergreen, there was also

evidence of the leadership issues outlined in the review of the literature at the beginning of this paper. For example, at Evergreen there was observed to be:

1. Confusion between leadership and management. When respondents were initially asked about leadership, there was a tendency to focus on the "good management" skills (Rost, 1991, p. 180), or lack thereof, of the principal.
2. An elusive understanding of relationships and the exercise of influence within relationships. Confusion over the exercise of influence within relationships was most apparent when individuals acted in such a way that they were asked to withdraw from the school due to some transgression of one of the three school rules
3. Competing theories and notions about what leadership actually is. Participants regularly experienced, understood, and could communicate their understanding of the phenomenon described as constructivist leadership. They did not, however, call the phenomenon "leadership."

Findings here are consistent with those of other researchers and theorists within the fields of organizational (Bass, 1990; Heifetz, 1994; Immegart; 1988, Rost, 1991; Wheatley, 1992) and educational leadership (Lambert et al., 1995; Sergiovanni, 1996) who are presently calling for the development of new perspectives on the leadership phenomenon.

Second Stage of the Study

In April 1998, once the master's thesis and doctoral dissertation had been completed, as authors, we made the decision to continue our discussions around the findings and conclusions of our independent investigations of community (Suddards, 1997) and leadership (Foster, 1998b). After a period of three months, we observed that instead of parallel discussions of two distinct phenomena, a single focus had evolved and a new research question had emerged that was framed by Lambert et al.'s conception of "leadership in educational communities" (Lambert, 1995). In July 1998, we decided to conduct a second investigation of the data and written research reports. The purpose,

conceptual framework, method, standards of rigor, and findings of this investigation are presented below.

Purpose of the Study

Our aim through this investigation, as was stated earlier in this paper, was to present an original perspective by examining leadership within high schools considered to be communities by both school members and those within the larger community served by the school. The following general research question guided this second stage of the study: How do members within high school communities experience and understand leadership?

Conceptual Framework

Lambert and her colleagues' (1995) conception of leadership, which links the notions of leadership and community, provided the theoretical framework for the analyses (p. 29). As was stated earlier in this paper, this investigation was conducted within the constructivist-interpretive paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The underlying belief here was that an understanding of the inter-relationship between our perceived realities would support an original construction of the leadership phenomenon.

Method

A collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) was adopted in order to address the research question. Data from the independent investigations of Ravineview and Evergreen Community High School were re-examined by each of us. As well, we exchanged the completed case study reports on the schools and submitted them to independent content analyses using conventional hermeneutical techniques (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Data analysis occurred over five months between June and December, 1998. We met on three occasions to exchange materials and discuss emerging patterns, interpretations, and themes. From January through March 1999, we spoke, communicated through e-mail, and met regularly as we collaborated on the writing of the final report and the preparation of this paper. During and directly following each of these communications and meetings, we

made notes summarizing the discussion and emerging themes. These notes formed an audit trail which was useful in establishing the trustworthiness of the findings.

Standards of Rigor

In order to enhance trustworthiness of the research findings, several strategies were adopted. Credibility was enhanced by using multiple data sources and through our regular meetings over the ten months required to undertake and complete the second stage of this study. During the writing and revising of the final research report, we provided for "investigator triangulation" (Stake, 1995, p. 113) by consulting with one another. In an in-depth discussion of transferability, Stake contends that findings from a case study are different than knowledge from other research traditions. This is because they are more concrete and resonant with the experience of the reader of the study, more contextual, more developed by reader interpretation, and more dependent on reference populations determined by the reader. The aim through this investigation was in keeping with what Stake claimed was the final aim of all case study research, which is to provide "readers with good raw material for their own generalizing" (p. 102).

Findings

The major finding of our study was that staff and students in both school sites regularly experienced, understood, and could communicate their understanding of constructivist leadership as defined by Lambert and her colleagues (1995, p. 29). In both school sites, respondents perceived the gemeinschaft-like qualities (Tonnies, 1887/1957) of the school to be crucial in supporting the reciprocal processes leading to the "sense-making" and development of shared purpose. In Ravineview, these reciprocal processes most often evolved out of the gemeinschaft relationships between and among adults and students within the school community (Tonnies); Ravineview resembled what Sergiovanni referred to as a "community of mind" (1994). In Evergreen, with its community governance model that had been in place since its inception, the reciprocal processes supporting the development of shared purpose most often resembled what Fowler (1995)

referred to as "participatory community," and McKnight (1994) as "direct democracy." School members participated as equals in the identification of issues and worked toward a consensus understanding of those issues and the strategies required to address them.

Recurrent Themes and Emerging Questions

During the conduct of this study, it became clear that an understanding of leadership could not be separated from the socio-historical context in which it occurred. Stake (1995) reminds us that "generalizations from differences between any two cases are much less to be trusted than generalizations from one" (p. 242). Nonetheless, recurrent themes with the potential of informing both leadership theory and the practice of educational administration were constructed over the course of the second stage of this study. As well, new questions that might support further study emerged. Themes and questions are presented under the following headings: "Confusion Between Leadership and Management;" "Importance of Teacher Leadership;" "Paradox of Schools as Communities;" and "Implications of Choice."

Confusion between leadership and management. Significant was that none of the respondents in either site referred to the phenomenon they experienced and could describe as "leadership," or to themselves as "leaders." Parents within Ravineview most often referred to the principal when they spoke of leadership, but acknowledged that they themselves, through their involvement in the school council, were also responsible for leadership activities. Parents within Evergreen were involved in school governance, but considered the teachers and principal to be those most responsible for the day-to-day management of the school. Evergreen parents often "blamed" the absentee principal for what they perceived to be problems in the running of the school. Inherent in this finding are the tensions caused by the ambiguity surrounding the notion of leadership. The multiple definitions of the leadership phenomenon that inform our thinking and practice are characterized by a confusion between leadership and management, an elusive understanding of the nature of relationships and influence within organizations, and a lack of consensus about the specific qualities which constitute leadership. These factors

contribute to the tendency, in both research and practice to reduce "leadership to good management" (Rost, 1991, p. 180).

Recently, Lambert (1998) extended her definition of constructivist leadership to include a discussion of ways in which schools might encourage the development of "leadership capacity" (i.e., the breadth of participation in leadership and the depth of skill that school members bring to the work of leadership) (p. 5). Lambert's notion is not unlike Starratt's (1993) conception of leadership as the pervasive quality crucial within healthy democratic societies:

> Leadership is essential for modern democratic institutions and societies. Without a broad base of people who think for themselves, engage in public debate about policies, and exercise responsibility for the quality of life around them, institutions and societies lay themselves open to demagoguery and totalitarian rule. A healthy society will be populated by people exercising leadership at every level and in a broad spectrum of institutions. (p. 14)

Questions for future study might include: How do individuals within school perceive leadership as distinct from management? To what extent and in which ways do school members perceive they are a part of, and participate in, the "leadership capacity" within the school? As well, an investigation of schools where the word leadership is used in mission statements and written documents might provide further insight about individually-held conceptions of leadership, leadership capacity, and management. Studies guided by these questions have the potential of supporting the development of new perspectives on the leadership phenomenon that are not necessarily all encompassing, but that "encourage us to think differently" (Sergiovanni, 1996, p. xix).

Importance of teacher leadership. In both school sites, respondents stressed the important role played by the teachers in contributing to the sense of community and support of the continuous construction of meaning going on within the school. They were what Lambert and her colleagues defined as "chief facilitators" and "constructivist leaders" (1996). Extending the notion of schools as community, Driscoll (1995) suggests that schools are communities when they exhibit a shared value system, common activities, and

practices that bind people to one another; and organizational characteristics which allow for such things as teacher collaboration. This emphasis on the teachers in the school is echoed in terms such as "professional community" and "learning community." Professional communities (Louis & Kruse, 1995) have similar characteristics: shared values, reflective dialogue deprivatization of practice, a focus on student learning, and teacher collaboration. Learning communities are places where "teachers…become active col-laborators in joint professional efforts that have children's learning as their purpose" (Jalongo, 1991). New models of staff development (Sparks & Hirsh, 1997) are grounded in results-based education, systems thinking, and constructivist learning theory and emphasize job-embedded learning, study groups, organizational development, and a whole-school focus on the important learning that is expected of students. Questions which might guide future study include: To what degree and how do teachers within schools that are thought to be communities perceive themselves as leaders and their actions as leadership? To what extent, and in which ways do teachers perceive that their actions contribute to the learning occurring within the school community? In this era of reform where there is a tremendous emphasis on quality and accountability for student achievement, an investigation of this type might be informative for those charged with planning and delivering teacher pre-service and in-service programs.

Paradox of schools as communities. Merz and Furman (1997) refer to the "promise and paradox" of conceptualizing schools as community. The paradox, these authors claim, occurs because of the mix of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft qualities that characterize our modern schools. At Ravineview, gesellschaft-like constraints such as standardized curricula and government examinations were sometimes perceived by staff as constraints on their efforts to strengthen the relationship between students and the wider community. Some parents also felt the tension between what might be best for their own children, and what is seen to be in the best interest of the whole school. However, none perceived that these tensions undermined the trusting relationships or learning going on at

Ravineview. The "newness" of the school and the high levels of involvement and participation in the changes going on took precedent in the accounts of the respondents.

Referring to Tonnies' (1887/1957) theoretical framework, Etzioni (1993) argued that "the naturally occurring bonds between people" characteristic of gemeinschaft are less likely to occur in contemporary urban societies which value diversity and choice, often to the exclusion of social commitment and responsibility. Etzioni depicted modern urban communities as gesellschaft and "non-geographic," where members were bound by their agreement to "a basic set of morals," a type of "manifesto of principles" regarding responsibility to others (p. 122). Etzioni's "manifesto of principles" is reminiscent of Ravineview's mission statement and code of conduct that had been developed during the earliest stages of transition from vocational to composite high school. They were constructed by a committee of staff, parents and students who had as their goal to create a vision that would attract students and parents to the school. Further, once established, these written statements provided the framework and parameters for hiring staff and building partnerships with the broader community. The bright blue, red, and white colours found on the letterhead and within the building itself were purposely selected to reinforce the newly established vision. For example, the blue symbolized calmness, peace, serenity, tranquility, harmony, balance, introspective awareness, and inner happiness; the red stood for excitement, enthusiasm, achievement, courage and leadership; the white symbolized perfection, simplicity, integrity, honestly, sincerity, goodness, kindness and wisdom.

Likewise, the philosophy statement, admission guidelines, school rules, and codes of behavior at Evergreen Community High School comprised a genre of "manifesto of principles." Indeed, transgression of school rules and behaviors deemed inappropriate resulted in Evergreen students being placed on "probation." Repeat offenses could ultimately lead to students being issued a letter indicating that they were being expelled from the school because they had "Ceased to Profit" from the community experience. In the opinion of several respondents within both schools, the existence of written philosophy

statements and codes of conduct were positive but presented some tension. Although it was believed that the "manifesto of principles" provided a framework within which each school became self-sustaining and self-renewing, it was also perceived that sometimes these written statements and beliefs presented constraints that felt paradoxical to those who did not conform and who were encouraged to "find their sense of community elsewhere" (Shields & Seltzer, 1997, p. 414). Questions for further study might include: To what extent are schools that are considered to be communities perceived to be inclusive by school members? To what degree and in which ways do these school communities provide for non-conformity and diversity?

Schools in community. Furman (March, 1997) speaks to the "weak links between the increasingly diverse and fragmented local community and the school....a sense of community for students is not possible unless they perceive that their parents trust and are respected by the school" (p. 6). Building bridges to schools will be difficult because of the centralized and closed nature of school governance; the distinct, idiosyncratic culture of the school; closed communication and lack of trust among parents, teachers and other members of the community; a "hierarchical quasi-bureaucratic structure" in schools; large school size; and the prevalence of contractual rather than familial relationships. Both Ravineview and Evergreen had structures that bridged the gap between the school and the community served by the school. At Evergreen, the compulsory school Outreach program placed students one day a week in businesses or institutions within the community. The emphasis on field excursions at Evergreen extended the curricula beyond the walls of the school building. These activities were considered to strengthen the curriculum and respond to the philosophical goals that characterized the communitarian orientation of the school; in Hargreaves and Fullan's terms, these were examples of how Evergreen was "going deeper" (1998, p. 29) in its attempts to honour its original Utopian vision of a community high school.

In Ravineview, the transition from a vocational to a composite high school with a science and technology focus had necessitated making connections with the outside world. Innovative programming and partnerships with businesses and enterprises within the larger community had meant that the Ravineview school community was "going wider" as it "reframed its relationships" with the outside world (p. 61). Staff, student, and parent respondents believed that the school was "state of the art." This perception of being cutting edge had a positive impact on the level of energy and enthusiasm for change occurring within the school. Hargreaves and Fullan (1998) suggest that too much emphasis on what goes on inside schools ignores the societal context in which they exist. These authors suggest that "schools cannot shut their gates and leave the outside world on the doorstep" (p. 7) and caution that "market competition, parental choice and individual self-management are redefining how schools relate to their wider environments" (p. 16). Questions for further study include: How do schools that are considered to be communities provide for and maintain their gemeinschaft and their inter-connectedness with the wider community? How do they accommodate diversity and address the possibility of fragmentation?

Implications of Choice. Adolescents came from all over the Metropolitan area after grades nine or ten to attend Evergreen alternative school for their last two or three years of high school. Students and parents made the choice to be a part of the Evergreen community; their decision was voluntary. When asked about their decision to come to Evergreen, the student and parent respondents referred to the "mutually negotiated screening process" upon which their decision had been based. This process was described in the initial case study report (Foster, 1998b) in the following way:

> Prospective students interested in attending Evergreen Community High School were required to come to a meeting where the rules and codes of behavior, as well as the school program were explained. Before being accepted into the school, all students went through an interview with staff and peers during which time they were asked to explain how their personal and academic goals "fit" within the overall philosophical framework of the school. (p. 152)

Through the admission process, students believed that they had been given the opportunity to "choose." They felt free to accept or reject the "values" and expectations

outlined in the school rules and codes of behavior before becoming members of the school. All student and parent respondents believed that the CEASA process was a fair one and that the rules and codes for behavior were reasonable. These school structures set the parameters for the formation of relationships between and among students and adults, relationships that were initially gesellschaft in nature.

Given the open boundaries within the district, Ravineview students and peers could choose from among thirteen high schools. Site-based management which had been implemented twenty years earlier had encouraged the development of a very diversified high school program within all of the schools. At Ravineview, science and technology comprised the main focus. Students in some cases travelled long distances in order to get to Ravineview, their school of choice. Within Tonnies' theoretical framework, such associations are gesellschaft in nature, based on "rational will" and characterized by contracts, negotiation, and mutual benefit. Merz and Furman (1997) offered the following definition for a community that is gesellschaftlicht. Community is "a group with common values that comes together to accomplish a common goal" (p. 15).

Although initially gesellschaft, relationships within Evergreen and Ravineview also displayed characteristics which were gemeinschaft in nature. Merz and Furman (1997) argue that the presence of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft within schools presents a paradox which inevitably causes tension, but which also holds promise:

> We cannot have a life or a school that is only Gemeinschaft today, modern society simply will not tolerate it. Neither can we have a life or a school that is only Gesellschaft, because human nature will not allow it. Today we must recognize that schools are a mix of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In addition to these simultaneous and conflicting demands, there is an increasing awareness that schools may be one of the few social institutions left that bridge the gap between the individual or family and the larger civic society. Citizens need to voice their values and preferences as a means of shaping society . . .. (pp. 97-98)

The conflicting and often paradoxical demands of the gemeinschaft and gesellschaft underpinning the pervasive "sense of place" in both Evergreen and Ravineview were critical attributes of the context of leadership.

Sergiovanni (1996) put forth the contention that "moral authority" evolves in schools where people are bound by "natural will." Moral authority, he claimed, eventually supersedes the institutionalized authority of rules and contracts:

> Compacts and shared commitments among principals, parents, teachers, and students and the moral authority they provide, are key in applying Community Theory to schools. As this authority becomes established, it speaks as a moral voice that substitutes for the usual management systems and leadership strategies we now use to provide direction, and to control people and events. This moral voice compels everyone in the school to meet their commitments, and to become self-managing. (p. 58)

Moral authority along with the authority embodied in the rules and codes of behavior were critical attributes of the context of leadership at both schools. The principal source of authority derived from the internalized and shared values implicit in the school culture. The parents at Ravineview often shared their children's experiences through their involvement in and with the school, whereas at Evergreen, the parents accepted their children's perceptions of the school without necessarily becoming directly involved.

Choice in the case of Ravineview was an integral facet of both the school and school district. In choosing Ravineview, parents and students did so with the expectation of finding others who were like-minded and with whom they could enter into gemeinschaft relationships built on moral authority. Although not conclusive, the evidence here suggests that in school districts where diversity and choice are normalized, individual schools like Ravineview have the potential of becoming self-managing and self-sustaining; moral authority may replace at least in part the institutional authority. Schools of choice that exist within highly bureaucratized systems, schools like Evergreen, appear to have to fight against conformity in their efforts to be unique and self-managing. Questions for future study include: To what extent and in which ways can schools be individual, self-managing, and self-sustaining while still remaining open to "what's out there"? (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998).

Conclusions

The theoretical significance of this study can be understood in terms of the call for new perspectives on the leadership phenomenon. Upon completion of his extensive review of the leadership literature, for example, Immegart (1988) called for new perspectives, which take into consideration a wide range of organizational qualities. Qualitative inquiry, he concluded, held the most promise for the development of such perspectives (p. 274). Lambert and her colleagues (1996) argued that "new metaphors for school leadership are necessary." Constructivist leadership, these authors believed, "offers many possibilities beyond those we have inherited from the patriarchy" (p. 120). In a similar vein, Sergiovanni (1996) supported his call for new perspectives on school leadership with the claim that "theories of leadership that we now have do not work very well in schools" (p. xix). "A theory for the schoolhouse," he argued, "should provide for decisions about school organization, curriculum and classroom life that reflect constructivist teaching and learning principles" (p. xv). Such a theory, concluded Sergiovanni, begins with new perspectives that are not necessarily all encompassing, but that "encourage us to think differently" (p. xix).

The collective case study reported on here presents a perspective that encourages readers to "think differently" about school leadership by emphasizing the context and processes of leadership, and not individual roles and behaviors within the social hierarchy of secondary schools. The context of leadership presented in each case comprises respondents' perceptions of the nature of the relationships between and among school members; the processes described in each case underscore the purpose and manner in which respondents constructed meanings and knowledge about individual experiences that occurred within that context.

The perspectives presented are not "all encompassing," for case study research conducted within the constructivist paradigm is not undertaken in order to establish universal truths. Findings from the case study, claimed Stake (1995), are different than

knowledge from other research traditions, because they are more concrete and resonant with the experience of the reader of the study, because they are more contextual, because they are more developed by reader interpretation, and because they are based more on reference populations determined by the reader. In order to provide the "data base that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (Stake, 1981, pp. 35-36, cited in Merriam, 1988, pp. 14-15), we have attempted to provide ample descriptions and interpretations of the context and processes of leadership in each case. Embedded in these interpretations are references to the literature which have been included in order to provide for further reader interpretation. In this light, the perspectives presented have the potential of supporting the development of new perspectives on the leadership phenomenon that are "more informed" and "more sophisticated" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111).

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